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CONTENTS	
A TALE UNFOLDED. J. S. of Dale	PAGE 85
THE MAY NIGHT. G. Santayana	. 96
A STUDY IN DESPAIR. A. B. Houghton	102
AT CHRISTMAS. T. P. Sanborn.	118
THE BALTIMORE PLOT. C. C. Felton	119
EDITORIALS	131
BOOK NOTICES	133
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THE HARVARD MONTHLY,

(FOUNDED IN 1886.)

A. B. HOUGHTON, W. W. BALDWIN. Editor-in-Chief. Business Manager.

EDITORS.

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THE HARVARD MONTHLY will be published on the third Wednesday of each month, from October to July, inclusive, by students of Harvard College.

The aim of the Monthly is primarily to preserve, as far as possible, the best literary work that is produced in college by undergraduates. It has seemed to those who have planned the magazine that articles are written in college which are worth printing and, for their literary merit, worth reading. Hitherto there has been no means of publishing such work. The Monthly will provide such a means.

The MONTHLY will strive to publish such of the required and elective work in English as may be deemed of sufficient merit. It will contain in each number a contributed article by some prominent alumnus. It will contain, also, contributed articles and poems, critical reviews, essays, careful book-notices, and editorials on topics of general interest.

The Monthly is on sale (price 25 cents) at Sever's, Amees' and the Coöperative in Cambridge; in Boston, at the Parker House, Young's Hotel, Adams House, Brunswick and Vendome; also at Loring's and Cupples, Upham & Co.; in New York at Brentano's. Subscriptions will be taken at the above places, (price \$2.00 per year). Subscriptions, complaints, and all business communications may be addressed to the Business Manager, 1 Thayer Hall. Other communications and all articles may be sent to the Editor-in-Chief, 13 Kirkland Place.

The present number contains a story by "J. S. of Dale," author of Guerndale, The Crime of Henry Vane, etc. Professor Toy will contribute a study in Arabian Poetry to the January number; and in the February number, Rev. C. H. Humphreys will give a sketch of the life of Col. Charles Russell Lowell.

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THE BALTIMORE PLOT.

I.

ROM the time of Mr. Lincoln's election, vague rumors of a plot in the South, having for its object the capture of Washington, had been current. The first definite information concerning it was received in December, 1860, by Mr. Felton, then president of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore railroad. His informant was Miss Dix, well known then as a philanthropist and later distinguished for her efforts in organizing military hospitals. She had been travelling through the southern states, visiting the charitable institutions there, and in the course of her journey had learned of the scheme that was on foot. To understand the full significance of Miss Dix's story, a word of description of the railroads leading from the northern states to Baltimore is necessary.

These railroads are three in number. The first, the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, runs westward from Baltimore through Maryland and West Virginia; the second, the Northern Central railroad, extends northward from Baltimore to Harrisburg; and the third, the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore railroad, connects Baltimore with New York and the New England states. Both the Baltimore and Ohio and the Northern Central railroads were operated from Baltimore, a fact which had an important bearing on the service they might be expected to perform for the government. For it would be an easy matter for the conspirators to gain control of railroads the headquarters of which were within easy reach. It was, therefore, to the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore railroad that the plotters chiefly turned their attention.

Upon this railroad, not far from Baltimore, there are three bridges, spanning the Bush, Gunpowder, and Back rivers. The Bush river, the most distant, is about twenty-five miles north of the city, and the Back river, the nearest, is some six miles away. All three are wide, shallow streams. The bridges over the Bush and Gunpowder rivers are each near-

ly a mile in length, the track being laid on piles, with a short wooden draw over the channels. It is evident that it would be a simple matter for a band of men from Baltimore to surprise and destroy these bridges, and thus close the only route likely to be of service, in case matters came suddenly to an issue.

According to Miss Dix's story, there were bands of men drilling along the lines of the various railroads leading to Baltimore and upon that from Baltimore to Washington. Not only were these men prepared to act in any eircumstances that might arise, but they were determined to take the offensive as soon as a chance offered. Their main object was to prevent at any eost the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln; and, to attain their end, their plans were arranged to burn the bridges and at the same time to seize Washington.

Confirmation of Miss Dix's statement, in the shape of specific details of the plot, reached the officers of the railroad a few days later. The keeper of the Back River bridge sent word that an unknown man had come out from Baltimore, and given him full information of the suspected plot. There was, the unknown said, a party organized in Baltimore to burn the bridges in ease Mr. Lineoln should attempt to reach Washington or the railroad should transport any troops for the relief of the eapital. The train carrying Mr. Lincoln would be stopped by a burning bridge. would be instantly boarded by a party of armed men, disguised as negroes, and, in the confusion, Mr. Lincoln's chance of life would be small. This information the man wished to be given to the officers of the railroad. The bridge-keeper described him as thoroughly in earnest and apparently possessing intimate knowledge of the whole affair. He had refused to give his name, and exacted a promise that no enquiries should be made concerning him. For, he said, his life would be in the greatest danger if the conspirators should get wind of what he had done. He promised, however, if no attempt were made to find him out, to bring further intelligence of the doings of the plotters. In point of fact, he did come several times afterward with information. His name has never been ascertained.

Immediately after the interview with Miss Dix, Mr. N. P. Trist, then paymaster of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore railroad, was sent

to Washington to ask General Scott for protection to the railroad. Mr. Trist was told to suggest, also, several routes by which Washington might be reached in case Baltimore should be closed. Among these, it is interesting to note, was the one via Annapolis, afterward taken by General Butler with the Eighth Massachusetts regiment. In reply to Mr. Trist's request, General Scott stated that, though he had long foreseen the impending trouble, he had been unable to induce the President to take any precautions, and was entirely powerless. The officers of the railroad would be obliged, therefore, to rely on their own resources to meet the danger.

It was evident that some more definite information concerning the plot must be obtained, if it was to be thwarted—and, if successful, who could tell how far-reaching the consequences might be? The aid of Mr. Kane, chief-marshal of the Baltimore police, and a supposed loyal man, was sought. But Kane made light of the whole matter, saying that he had already thoroughly investigated the alleged plot, and emphatically declared that there was no foundation for any alarm. Fortunately, his statements were not accepted as conclusive, and a private investigation was undertaken by the railroad company.

For this purpose the well-known detective, Pinkerton, and eight assistants were engaged and set to work. Pinkerton went directly to Baltimore where, under the name of Allen, he opened a cigar store. The other detectives joined various organizations and military companies in and about Baltimore, which were suspected of disloyalty. By pretending southern birth, and by a show of great zeal for the "cause," these men gradually worked themselves into the confidence of the leaders. They reported, every day or two, to Pinkerton, who, in turn, reported at Philadelphia. In spite of Marshal Kane's positive contradiction, these reports amply confirmed all that Miss Dix and the unknown Baltimorean had stated as to the existence and purposes of the conspiracy. Measures meanwhile had been taken to guard the railroad and bridges. A force of two hundred men was secretly armed and organized and regularly drilled. These men were distributed at the various bridges between the Susquehanna river and Baltimore, and a special train to concentrate the whole force immediately at any point of danger was provided. To avert suspicion, these men

were employed in whitewashing the bridges. The "whitewash," it should be said, contained a strong solution of salt and alum, which renders wood nearly fire-proof. Some six or seven coats of this mixture were applied, much to the astonishment of the good people of the neighborhood.

By this time Mr. Lineoln was on his way east. At the last moment, however, a sudden change in his route was announced. He had intended to proceed directly from Philadelphia to Washington. Now it was arranged that he should go from Philadelphia to Harrisburg and thence, by daylight, to Baltimore over the Northern Central railroad. As soon as this intended change of route was made public, word was brought by the unknown Baltimorean, and confirmed by the detectives, that the designs on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore railroad were abandoned for the present, and would not be renewed, unless an attempt were made to carry troops. But the change of route did not lessen the danger.

The sudden arrival of Mr. Lincoln at Washington early on the morning of the 22d of February, 1861, eaused a tremendous excitement throughout the country, as well as much ridicule and some unfavorable comment. Much has been written on the subject since, but the true story is known only to a very few persons. It was as follows:

Mr. Lineoln arrived in Philadelphia on the evening of the 21st of February. The next morning, Washington's birthday, after passing through the streets in a great procession, he raised a flag, with solemn ceremonies, over the historic Independence Hall. His stay in the city was short, and he departed immediately for Harrisburg, where he was to spend the night and proceed the next morning to Baltimore. Meanwhile, Pinkerton, who had come to Philadelphia under his assumed name of Allen, undertook to bring about a meeting between Mr. Felton and Mr. Lineoln's intimate friend, Mr. Judd, in order that the president-elect might be warned of his peril. One of the detectives made three attempts to communicate with Mr. Judd, while he was in the procession, and was three times arrested and carred away by the police. A fourth trial, however, was successful. Upon learning of the danger, Mr. Judd fully approved of Mr. Lineoln's journeying through that night. But when the step was urged upon him, Mr. Lincoln absolutely refused to break his engagements

in Harrisburg. He was willing, however, to return to Philadelphia that night, if he should be convinced that danger existed on the Harrisburg route. Fortunately, at this moment, confirmation of the fact was brought by a son of Mr. Seward, who was sent from Washington to warn Mr. Lincoln of his danger. Mr. Seward and General Scott had employed detectives in Baltimore, independently of Pinkerton's investigations, and from them had received almost the same information as that sent to Philadelphia by Pinkerton. Such strong corroborative evidence banished all doubt from Mr. Lincoln's mind, and he consented to follow Mr. Judd's advice.

First, however, he must fill his engagements at Harrisburg. It was almost impossible for him to reach Philadelphia again in time for the regular night train to Baltimore, and a special train would be so dangerous as to be out of the question. Therefore some means had to be found to delay the regular train, without missing the connections at Baltimore, and, above all, without exciting suspicion. Three of the officers of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore railroad were in the secret. One of these was immediately despatched to Baltimore to ask the officers of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad to delay their night train to Washington, in case the train from Philadelphia was not on time. There was, he said, a package of important papers which must be in Washington the next morning without fail, and for which, though the greatest haste was being made, the eleven o'clock train would probably have to be detained about half an hour at Philadelphia. This request was made as a personal favor to Mr. Felton, and was willingly granted. A cipher despatch, informing Mr. Felton that all was right, was immediately sent by the messenger to Philadelphia.

Mr. Lincoln, when the ceremonies at Harrisburg were concluded, went to Governor Curtin's house. It had been announced that he would pass the night there. As soon as it grew dark, however, he was driven to a point about two miles below the city, where a special train was in readiness. At the same moment all the telegraph wires leading from Harrisburg were cut, so that no intelligence of his movements could possibly reach the conspirators.

Meanwhile, the "important package" had been made ready. It consisted of a bundle of old railroad reports, carefully done up and sealed. It

was directed to a person at Willard's Hotel, Washington, and was marked "Very important, to be delivered without fail." This valuable bundle was intrusted to Mr. Kenney, the superintendent of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore railroad, who was sent, with a carriage, to await Mr. Lincoln's arrival at the Harrisburg station in West Philadelphia. When the special train reached West Philadelphia, Mr. Lincoln at once entered the carriage, and was driven with all speed to within a square of the Baltimore station. Here Mr. Kenney, with the package, left the carriage and waited while it drove up to the door, and Mr. Lincoln and his party (Mr. Judd and one other person accompanied him) had entered the station. Then he followed with the package, which he gave to the conductor. As Mr. Lincoln showed the tickets, all provided for him, to the conductor, the latter remarked: "Well, old man, it's lucky for you that we've got to wait for some despatches; we're half an hour late now." The despatches soon came, and the train started on its eventful journey.

The third officer of the railroad, who was in the secret, George Stearns by name, went with the train to stand guard over Mr. Lincoln as far as Baltimore, where the sleeping-car and its contents were to be delivered into the charge of the man who had been sent there in the morning. As the train left the station the conductor drew Stearns aside and said to him: "George, I thought you and I were old friends. Why didn't you tell me we had 'Old Abe' aboard?" Stearns, thinking that the secret had leaked out in some way, acknowledged that "Old Abe" was on board, and asked the conductor to share his responsibility. "Yes," replied he, "I will, if it costs me my life." So the two watched through the night, one at either door of the car. It turned out afterward that the conductor had mistaken his man. A person strongly resembling Mr. Lincoln had boarded the train about half an hour before it started, and this man the conductor had taken for "Old Abe."

At Baltimore the car and its contents were delivered over to the person waiting in readiness there, who, in turn, kept watch till Washington was safely reached at six o'clock in the morning. Mr. Lincoln was received at the station by Mr. Washburn, member of Congress from Illinois, and driven directly to Willard's, where Mr. Seward was awaiting his ar-

rival. The man who had been in charge of the car from Baltimore to Washington saw the "important package" safely delivered into the hands of the person to whom it was directed. At eight o'clock, the time agreed upon, the wires between Philadelphia and Baltimore were joined, and the first message they carried was: "Your package has arrived safely and been delivered."

So began and ended this episode. The whole matter had been so secretly managed that Mr. Lincoln's passage through Baltimore was not known in that city till twelve hours after he had safely reached Washington. "My God! how did he get here?" exclaimed a southern member of Congress, in the hearing of one of the members of the Peace convention. It should be added that the stories told, at the time, of Mr. Lincoln's travelling in disguise were without foundation. With the exception of putting on a soft felt hat, in place of his ordinary beaver, Mr. Lincoln made no change whatever in his usual appearance.

H.

If it had not been for the accurate knowledge obtained in the course of the investigations undertaken to secure Mr. Lincoln's safety, it would have been impossible to open the Annapolis route with anything like the promptness and success which gave that movement its great value. At the moment prompt transportation was the pressing need of the government. With Virginia in arms and the way to Washington closed at Baltimore, the cause of the Union seemed in terrible peril. Washington was defenseless, and for the moment Maryland had cast her lot with the south. To force Maryland into the confederacy had been one of the primary objects of the plot,—and, if the plot had been finally successful, who can tell how far the whole story of the war might have been changed? How the Annapolis route was first suggested to General Scott in the preceding December has already been told. The manner in which the plan then indicated was carried out is now to be related.

After the peaceful inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, the detectives and the "whitewashers" were discharged. For a time all was quiet; soon, however, the attack on Fort Sumter and the secession of Virginia revived the

peril. When the seventy-five thousand volunteers were called out, it was well known that their transportation would be followed by an attack upon the railroad and the destruction of its property. Again help was asked from the government. But, as before, there was none to be had. At that time trains were carried over the Susquehanna river, between Perryville on the northern shore, and Havre-de-Grace on the southern, by the steamer Maryland. The Maryland, then the largest boat on the waters of the Chesapeake, was able to transport an entire train at one trip. It was part of the conspirators' plan to gain possession of this boat. If they were able to do that, their success would, for some time at least, have been complete. To meet this design, a system of pipes was arranged, by which steam and boiling water could be thrown on any attacking party, and orders were given to the captain of the ferry-boat never to let his fires go down.

Affairs along the line of the railroad were in this condition when, on the evening of the 18th of April, 1861, the famous Massachusetts Sixth reached Philadelphia. They left for Baltimore at one o'clock on the morning of the memorable 19th of April.

It is about a hundred miles from Philadelphia to Baltimore, and some forty miles further from Baltimore to Washington. At this time the cars from Philadelphia entered Baltimore on the north side. Here they were detached from the locomotive, and drawn by horses across the city to the Washington station. The distance is about two miles. The story of the fight in Baltimore is too well known to need repetition here. The following extract from Mr. Felton's account of the affair tells the story in a new way, and is therefore quoted:

"Before they left Philadelphia I called the colonel and principal officers into my office, and told them of the dangers they would probably encounter, advising that each soldier should load his musket and be ready for any emergency. We had arranged a cipher, by which messages were sent and received every few moments along the whole road, and from the officers of the Baltimore and Washington road; so that we were posted up continually as to the exact condition of affairs. The regiment started, and I stood at the telegraph instrument in Philadelphia, constantly receiving messages of its progress. Finally, it was announced from Baltimore that they were in sight; next, that they were being received with cheers; then, that ten

car-loads had started for the Washington station, and all was right; then, that the other four car-loads had started and turned the corner into Pratt street all right. Then, after a few moments, came the message that the track was being torn up in front of the last four cars and that they were being attacked on Pratt street. Then the reports subsided into mere rumors and we could not tell whether the mob or the troops were to succeed; for guns were being fired by both rioters and military and the tide of battle was surging now this way and now that. Then came the report that the mob had turned upon an unarmed Pennsylvania regiment (Col. Small's, which had left Philadelphia with the Sixth); that the mob had got on the tops of the cars and were breaking them in and throwing down pavingstones and other missiles on the heads of the volunteers, and chasing those who left the cars through the streets. The excitement, anxiety and oppression that I felt at this moment may be better imagined than described. At this juncture, I received a message from the Mayor and Police Commissioners of Baltimore, as follows, in substance: 'Withdraw the troops now in Baltimore, and send no more through Baltimore or Maryland.' An immediate answer was demanded. In order to get time to ascertain more exactly the condition of affairs before deciding what to do, I telegraphed in reply that I had received such a message as the above and asked, 'Is it genuine?' In the meantime I ascertained that the bulk of the Sixth had got through Baltimore, and were on their way to Washington; and, believing that the unarmed troops under Col. Small would be murdered if I allowed them to remain where they were, exposed to the fury of the mob, and believing, also, that our bridges would be at once destroyed, and that some other route must be adopted, I bethought myself of the Annapolis scheme before communicated to General Scott, and at once telegraphed to the Mayor of Baltimore, 'I will withdraw the troops now in Baltimore and send no more through the city until I first consult with you.' I made no allusion to sending any through Maryland; but so worded my message that they would rather conclude that no more troops would be sent, and thus be unprepared to throw any impediment in the way of the Annapolis route."

The eleven o'clock train that night was the last that ran from Philadelphia to Baltimore for some time. As the train entered Baltimore, it was boarded by a large party of armed men, under command of one J. R. Trimble. This Trimble, afterward a somewhat prominent Confederate general, was a former official of the railroad, who had been discharged for appropriating its property to his own use. Trimble, with drawn pistol,

jumped upon the foot-board of the locomotive, and directed the engineer, Asa Denio by name, to take the train back toward the Susquehanna. The engineer instantly determined to run his engine off the track just outside the station. With this purpose he made a sign to one of the brakemen to misplace a switch in the station yard. Trimble, however, caught wind of the scheme, and stood beside the brakeman, with cocked pistol, till all was safe. Then, getting again upon the engine, he warned Denio that any more tricks would cost him his life.

When the train had nearly reached the Susquehanna, Trimble, feeling good-natured, told the engineer that he should have a good breakfast at Havre-de-Grace. Denio replied that he would meet the hottest reception he ever saw, if he showed his nose in Havre-de-Grace. Trimble quickly asked what he meant. Denio answered that, when he left Philadelphia, twenty-five hundred soldiers were ready to start and were certainly at the river by this time. On receiving this information, Trimble decided to give up the idea of taking the Maryland, and to proceed at once with the work of destroying the bridges. As a matter of fact, no troops were at the river at that time, and none arrived there for several hours. The engineer's readiness very probably saved the steamer, though her steam pipes would have given Trimble a literally "hot reception," had he attempted to board her.

By this time the train had gone some distance beyond Perrymansville, a station on the northern side of Bush river about twenty-six miles distant from Baltimore. Trimble ordered the engineer to run back, and, leaving a guard to hold Perrymansville station, he set fire to the draw of Bush river bridge, as the train passed over. The same process was repeated at Gunpowder and Back rivers. Meantime a party under Marshal Kane himself had burned the bridges on the Northern Central railroad in the neighborhood of Baltimore. The Virginians had taken Harper's Ferry and cut the Baltimore and Ohio railroad on the night of the 18th. Thus the city was closed to all approach from the north.

The rise of the tide of secession feeling in Maryland was tremendous. For a time it threatened to carry all before it. Even the steadfastly loyal Governor Hicks, ill at the time, was driven into giving his consent to the

destruction of the bridges, by the flimsy argument that it was a necessary measure of self-defense. If it had not been for the moral effect of the prompt opening of a way through Annapolis, the plotters might readily have carried the state into the open arms of the Confederacy. But the forwarding of troops to Washington was delayed but a few days, and the well-matured and successfully executed plans of the secessionists come to nothing.

On the evening of the same 19th of April, the Eighth Massachusetts, under General Butler, arrived at Philadelphia. How the regiment was to reach Washington was the important problem. Baltimore was in a blaze of secessionism, and the news that the bridges were burnt was expected at any moment. Fortunately, the new route was already organized so far as was in the power of the railroad; and nothing remained but to put it in operation. Before the arrival of General Butler a consultation of several prominent men had been held, at which the alarming state of affairs had been discussed and the adoption of the Annapolis route determined on as the only means to save Washington. Accordingly, Mr. Felton, accompanied by Commodore Dupout, called upon General Butler as soon as possible after his arrival. Mr. Felton showed General Butler the telegram that had been sent that morning by the mayor of Baltimore, and informed him of the preparations that had been made for forwarding him and his troops by Annapolis. General Butler flatly refused. "My orders," said he, "are to go through Baltimore, and, if Colonel Lefferts will join me, I will fight my way through from house to house." The New York Seventh, it should be said, was also in Philadelphia, awaiting transportation. After some further difficulty, General Butler was persuaded to adopt the Annapolis route by the information that the bridges would be burnt before he could reach the Susquehanna, and that he could not get to Baltimore except on foot.

General Butler and the Massachusetts Eighth left the station for Perryville at three o'clock on the afternoon of Saturday the 20th of April, 1861. Though urged to join General Butler, Colonel Lefferts refused. He decided that it was safer to embark on a steamer at Philadelphia, and to proceed thence by way of the Potomac to Washington. He was warned that the rebels had erected batteries commanding the Potomac, and finally modi-

fied his course so far as to consent to landing from the steamer at Annapolis, instead of going directly to Washington. It is interesting to note that, owing to their circuitous route, the Seventh did not reach Annapolis until some thirty-six hours after General Butler had arrived there.

Nothing worthy of mention happened to Butler's force on the journey to the Susquehanna, though considerable anxiety was felt lest Trimble might have crossed the river and burned the bridges nearer Philadelphia. But the *ruse* of the engineer had saved them, for they were very insufficiently guarded.

The Eighth Regiment reached Perryville at six P. M. It halted a little above the station, and marched toward the ferry-boat on the double quick, following a line of skirmishers that had been thrown forward. "The steamer, a very large ferry-boat, called the *Maryland*," says Captain Newhall of Company D., "being in its slip, was instantly taken without firing a shot." "Nothing remained," says that veracions and accurate historian, Mr. Parton, "but to get up steam, put on board a supply of coal, water and provisions, embark the troops and start for Annapolis." As a matter of fact, the steamer had been prepared with all these necessities for days, and as we have seen, steam was constantly kept up.

General Butler's first action was to place a man, with loaded and cocked pistol, in the pilot-house. This was a perfectly needless precantion; for, before he left Philadelphia, General Butler had been at some pains to be assured of the loyalty of the captain and crew. The voyage was without incident, and lasted until midnight, when the boat reached Annapolis. General Butler, however, did not land till Monday morning, the 22nd of April, when the steamer Boston arrived with the New York Seventh.

The railroad from Annapolis to the junction with the Washington branch had been destroyed. This, however, proved but a slight obstacle to such a variously skilled body of men as the Massachusetts Eighth, and in a few days the way was open to Washington. Though, for nearly a month, Baltimore remained insurgent, cut off from the north by the burning bridges, a steady stream of troops was pouring into Washington over the Annapolis route, and the capital was soon out of danger.

C. C. Felton.

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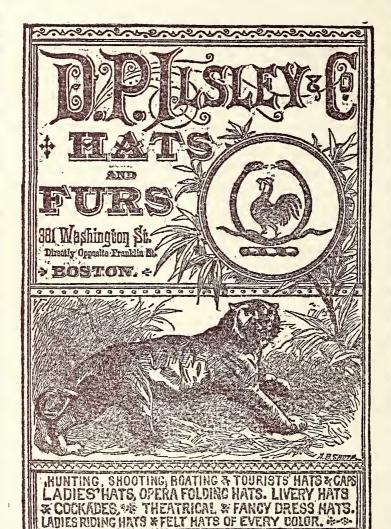
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